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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 TOKYO 002237

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SUBJECT: BOUCHER FINDS GOOD PARTNER IN TOKYO ON INDIA,  
AFGHANISTAN, PAKISTAN, AND CENTRAL ASIA

Classified By: Ambassador J. Thomas Schieffer, reasons 1.4(b),(d).

11. (C) SUMMARY: Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs Richard Boucher visited Tokyo August 7-8 to discuss India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia with a number of senior government officials. On the India civil nuclear deal, he was told that while Japan is "basically cooperating" with the proposal and understands the wider strategic goals, it is essential that the agreement not undermine the international nonproliferation regime. Regarding Afghanistan, Japan continues to study our request for a "substantial" new contribution, but is finding decisions difficult, particularly on military deployments, because of domestic political constraints. On Pakistan, Japan is concerned about how President Musharraf and the military will respond to the President's possible impeachment. Tokyo remains committed to providing more assistance to Pakistan to assist with border issues and democracy. Stability, increased prosperity and access to free markets in Central Asia are key to Japan, which would like to see the nations of the region gain more independence from Russia and China. Japan noted interest in coordinating more regularly with the Department on Central Asia. END SUMMARY.

12. (U) During his visit to Tokyo, Assistant Secretary Boucher met separately with the Prime Minister's Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary Chikao Kawai, Deputy Foreign Minister for Political Affairs Kenichiro Sasae, Deputy Vice Minister and Director General for Foreign Policy Koro Bessho, Director General for Middle Eastern and African Affairs Toshiro Suzuki, Director General for European Affairs Yasuaki Tanizaki, Director General for Southeast and Southwest Asian Affairs Hiroshi Inomata, and Director General for Disarmament, Non-Proliferation, and Science Toshio Sano. He also gave a well-attended press conference sponsored by the Japan National Press Club, a transcript of which is posted on

the Embassy's website.

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INDIA  
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13. (C) The U.S.-India civil nuclear deal was a key topic in Boucher's meetings with Kawai, Sasae, Bessho, Inomata, and Sano. The message he received from each was basically the same. All noted Japan's firm commitment to nuclear nonproliferation, its "nuclear allergy," and the fact that these emotions are most intense during August when Japanese each year commemorate the nuclear attacks against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Sasae said that while Japan is "basically cooperating" with the U.S. and India on this proposal, and understands the wider strategic goals, Tokyo has concerns that India doesn't make any specific nonproliferation commitments in the current draft exception. Japan will raise their concerns in Vienna, but also wanted to tell us directly.

14. (C) Director General Sano, who as the head the Disarmament Department at the Foreign Ministry is perhaps the most "hard-line," said Japan's leaders have agreed to positively consider the deal and they recognize the arguments for the initiative, such as clean energy to power India's growing economy and the opportunity to cut greenhouse emissions, a major priority for Japan. At the same time, he said, it is essential that the agreement not undermine the international

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nonproliferation regime. Japan joined the August 1 consensus at the International Atomic Energy Agency for additional safeguards on India's nuclear facilities, but the Japanese public is not supportive. The timing of this in August, he noted, does not help matters; Sano speculated that the agreement is responsible for the fact that the government has received many times the normal number of petitions this month (200 vice 30) calling for progress toward nonproliferation. He predicted that the opposition Democratic Party of Japan, sensing the public's sentiments on this issue, may use the ruling Liberal Democratic Party's "support" for the agreement as the basis for taking a strong stance against the deal.

15. (C) However, Sano said that despite the fragile domestic situation and the public's overwhelming feelings about nonproliferation, top Japanese leaders support the deal. Japan has received the draft exception and will thoroughly review it, he said. But, he said, "We will need some conditions...The Nuclear Suppliers Group needs to send India a message." These messages, more specifically are: testing "nullifies things," and "sensitive enrichment and reprocessing technology should not be transferred." Sano and others noted that they would have to take action to cut off assistance if India should ever carry out another nuclear test. He also suggested that there needed to be a device in place to monitor India's engagement with the Nuclear Suppliers Group. "If you want consensus, India and the United States should be flexible. We want to see these conditions." Boucher asked if the Japanese were in touch with some of the other "skeptics" in Vienna and Sano said they were not: "we will not gang up on you."

16. (C) Assistant Secretary Boucher made clear to Sano and others that the United States did not want to see conditioning of this exception. Countries were certainly free to take whatever actions might be necessary. The United States has said publicly that we support India's continued moratorium on testing and that we have no intention of supplying enrichment or reprocessing technology to India. Boucher cautioned his Japanese interlocutors against conditions that go too far beyond the basic needs of such an agreement, particularly if these conditions mandate uniform action by all Nuclear Suppliers Group members. Each country needs to be able to determine for itself how to implement policy, but we might, for example, state our collective

desire to see the moratorium continued.

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AFGHANISTAN  
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17. (C) The message Boucher received on Afghanistan was also consistent: Japan wants to do more but is constrained by the contentious domestic political situation. Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary Kawai commented that the urgency of the matter was impressed upon Prime Minister Fukuda during discussions at the G-8, especially with the U.S. and Canadian leaders. For this reason, Japan is seriously reviewing the "menu" of new Afghan initiatives provided by Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Wilkes in July. (Comment: Boucher noted that we proposed "a package," not "a menu"). Kawai commented, however, that some parts are not easy, especially those that require new legislation. Sasae said Tokyo understands what the U.S. is seeking from it in terms of a "substantial package," and that the government is "doing its best" to address our request. Talks are also proceeding

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within the government on how to continue Japan's refueling mission in the Indian Ocean in support of Operation Enduring Freedom, which is set to expire soon. Various officials acknowledged that what happens in Afghanistan is not only important for the region but also for the U.S.-Japan alliance. That said, Sasae concluded that for the moment, "Japan must pursue a realistic path."

18. (C) Assistant Vice Foreign Minister Bessho visited Afghanistan last month and said he came away pessimistic about the security situation, particularly in the South, where Japan is laboring to complete its section of the Ring Road project, noting that attacks against the project and its workers have increased dramatically since December, resulting in a number of deaths. Bessho said Japan is serious about completing the project and realizes its importance, but asked for understanding from the international community about the challenges it is facing. On the road, the Japanese understand that it is not feasible to have U.S. and NATO troops guarding the construction area, we should talk in Kabul about how we can improve security for the project.

19. (C) Boucher expressed disappointment that the Self Defense Forces would likely not be able to play a role in Afghanistan, as the United States was looking for Japan to transport coalition troops or run a Provincial Reconstruction Team. On the civilian front, he suggested that in addition to the contributions already suggested by General Wilkes, Japan should also try to look at new and different ways to contribute to Afghanistan's development. One way that we would welcome would be Japan helping to fund the sustainment costs associated with the expansion of the Afghan National Army from 80,000 to 122,000 (plus a 12,000-man training float). The costs here would be large, and the United States will contribute in a major way, but should be shared by the international community.

110. (C) Director General Suzuki provided a readout of Foreign Minister Koumura's thirty-minute meeting with President Karzai in India on August 5. Koumura emphasized the G-8 messages on Afghanistan and praised Karzai's meeting with Pakistani Prime Minister Gillani in Sri Lanka. President Karzai responded with a review of Afghan-Pakistani relations, which was quite negative. In short, he basically blamed all of Afghanistan's problems on Pakistan and the Inter-Services Intelligence agency. Suzuki said Japan senses there is increasing concern within Afghanistan and internationally over President Karzai's handling relations with Pakistan and the domestic situation. The Afghanistan government has been in place for seven years, and while a long-term view is necessary, people were expecting more progress by now. The Afghan population is growing increasingly tired and cynical of the process and, to counter this, President Karzai needs

to speak out more and explain his policies and vision,  
Director General Suzuki suggested.

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PAKISTAN  
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¶11. (C) Sasae indicated Japan is concerned about the impeachment proceedings just announced against President Musharraf and wonders how he and the military will respond. He said Japan is interested in finding ways to help Pakistan increase security in the border areas and suggested that the G-8 ambassadors in Islamabad meet regularly as an informal

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way to better coordinate our efforts. He urged the United States to be more active and encourage others to be active in these meetings. Bessho noted that last May Japan pledged to double its official assistance to Pakistan in order to demonstrate its commitment to the promotion of democracy and a better economy, but is also willing to use that assistance as a lever if the situation deteriorates. Suzuki said it appears that while the new government in Islamabad is getting off to a decent start, it remains doubtful that it has any real control over what's going on in the country.

¶12. (C) Assistant Secretary Boucher gave a brief readout of Prime Minister Gillani's visit to Washington and noted the U.S. Government's continued pressure on Islamabad to take serious action on terrorism and the economy. He agreed that Pakistan's politicians seem to have only a limited capability to control the military, the intelligence services, or the Tribal Areas.

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CENTRAL ASIA  
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¶13. (C) Boucher had a very useful meeting with Director General for European Affairs Tanizaki, whose bureau includes the Central Asian region. Tanizaki told him it is Japan's view that the stability and prosperity of the Central Asian countries is very important to the entire region, including Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is important to firmly establish the rule of law, human rights, etc., but it takes time, Tanizaki said, and "we are not using explicit pressures." Deputy Director General Nobukatsu Kanehara stated, "This is economic for us, we want to see them integrate into international free markets." But, they noted, that if Japan sees Central Asia only from the economic side, things won't work. Assistant Secretary Boucher agreed, and urged Japan to be more insistent about human rights. "Even our military generals raise these issues with them."

¶14. (C) Tanizaki stated that Japan's policy in the region is based on demonstrating a presence but not to compete with Russia and China, which are increasingly focused on energy and other resources. Despite poorly-drawn borders, the countries of the region are building real nation-states, which in turn, is leading to genuine rivalry that Russia is trying to exploit. Russia continues to treat the Central Asia countries as its "children." Kanehara pointed out that Russia is pleased to have Japan spending its money in the region to improve infrastructure but always tells Tokyo that "before you decide to do anything there, come to us first." He said that Russia still considers herself "Big Mother" to its former republics. China, meanwhile, has historical interests in using the region as a "buffer," and sees gaining and maintaining influence in the region as important to controlling ethnic groups along its borders.

¶15. (C) Japan is engaging with each country bilaterally, as well as through its multilateral Japan Plus Central Asia Dialogue. Bilaterally, Japan plans to sign an investment protection treaty with Uzbekistan soon. Japan would also like to increase official development assistance to the

region, but faces legal limits imposed by the poor repayment record for yen loans on the part of some countries, such as Kyrgyzstan. Another area for cooperation is water management, said Tanizaki. Japan is dispatching technical experts to the region to look for optimal solutions for

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coordination among upstream and downstream users, but the outlook for cooperation is "not so optimistic." Assistant Secretary Boucher pointed out another area to be considered, and for which Japanese assistance would be welcomed, is the construction of electricity transmission lines by which power produced in Central Asia could be sold to the energy-hungry growing economies in India and Pakistan.

¶16. (C) Tanizaki reported that the next round of the Japan Plus Central Asia Dialogue Forum will take place in Uzbekistan before the end of the year. (NOTE: The next round was scheduled to take place this week, but Foreign Minister Koumura was forced to cancel his trip to Uzbekistan due to the cabinet reshuffle in Tokyo. END NOTE.) The Forum's action plan is based on five pillars: political dialogue, intelligence dialogue, regional cooperation, economic cooperation, and business promotion. Through the Forum, Japan has provided grant aid assistance for road construction and is helping to build border control infrastructure.

¶17. (C) Japan has also explored ways to coordinate more with the European nations on Central Asia, but finds that they are mostly interested in East-West development, rather than North-South. They, like the Russians and Chinese, are also very focused on energy security. Japan meets with the EU twice a year at the Director General level, but the discussion are largely focused on general policies and plans, as opposed to detailed coordination. The EU is opening embassies in each of the region's capitals and official development assistance from Europe now exceeds that from Japan. Japan is interested in working with the United States in the region, and hopes to continue the Assistant Secretary and Deputy Assistant Secretary-level discussions that have already taken place twice. Tanizaki offered to host the next round in Tokyo.

¶18. (U) Assistant Secretary Boucher has cleared this message. SCHIEFFER